weapon. As he passes, the pachyderm strikes and dislodges the crossbar, springs the trigger, disrupts the suspension, and the spear falls heavily upon him. The trap is arranged in such a way as to hit the animal on the nape of the neck. M 224

The native hunts with bow and arrow as well as with spear. The bow and arrow, however, is more a weapon than a hunting instrument. M 224 411

The peoples in the territory between the Congo and the Kasai, as well as the Babomas of the Fimi have now given up these weapons. A few privileged persons own percussion guns which are usually more dangerous to the hunter than to the hunted. When the native fires a shot, he extends his arms, directs the barrel towards the prey, and turns his head aside. If, through cunning and patience, he gets to within a few meters of the game without arousing its attention, the shot has a chance [66] of success. Ordinarily the animal is more or less gravely wounded, unless the overloaded gun explodes in the hands of the imprudent hunter.

The Bateke, Banfumu, and Baboma store powder in small receptacles made of a simple calabash or cut out of a block of hard wood. The calabashes are sometimes covered with a sheath of serpent or lizard skin to protect the powder more effectively from dampness. The wooden powder flasks are usually pear-shaped, probably to imitate the shape of the calabash. They have a wooden cover that fits very tightly into the body of the object, and the leather strap for hanging it up is attached to two holes cut in the body of the receptacle and drawn through two side openings in the cover. Very often these carved powder flasks are decorated with designs engraved in bas relief, linear motifs arranged in bands. The lines are sometimes curved, sometimes straight, and sometimes also oblique. The bottom of the powder flask is flat so that it may be placed upright [67] on a horizontal surface. The body of the powder flask extends into the straight cylindrical neck onto which the cover is fitted. S 411 322 S [93]

The bow with rattan thong is relatively rare. We found it only among the Tumba, Balesa, Bobale, Batete [Tete], Ipanga, Batitu, and the Pygmies. This bow is made with a rattan stem, its convex section facing out and its flat section facing in. The rattan thong is attached to the two ends after having been drawn through M 411 [77]

S

"Did not the bananas belong to the nkisi? This bunch was taboo! 224
No one had the right to take a banana from it!" Several natives 346
rushed into the banana groves and brought back quantities of 778
bananas. They had their hands full of them. They offered all of them to me in exchange for the one banana taken from the tree of the nkisi, and when I finally gave it to them, they fastened it under the roof inside the nkisi shelter.

S

In the Bobaie village of Madjulu, the nkisi hut is replaced by 224
a large basket, surrounded by large blocks of wood and covered 778
with grass. A large, broken pot for cooking chikwangue [Ed., ... manioc cakes] was placed on top of it. Several sticks were placed around it, and at the top of two of them the natives had hung large calabashes. Here again I found it impossible to get precise information about the use or [80] significance of each of these objects. The few skulls of small antelopes inside the basket were again vaguely reminiscent of the Bateke-Bamfumu custom of huts for the nkísi of the hunt.

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Among the Tumba, the Wadia on the right shore of Lake [171]

Fig. 50. Bobaie Hunting Fetish, Village of Madjuku.

Leopold II, and the Mosengere, all traces of such huts disappear. In the Wadia village of Ibali, a large pot was placed on top of a branch which ended in a trident with diverging spikes. This pot was three-fourths full of a reddish, very thick mud. A few splints

1: Maes--119 E-8 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32
Take F133

M 276 Aside from this characteristic form, we found another which is no less interesting. The bowl and tube are always made from the hollowed branch of a special species of tree. The shape is slightly curved, and the top end slightly flared to form the bowl. At the other end of the tube, the native attaches a small spheroidal calabash with two holes, one of which serves as the mouthpiece. This calabash is lightly stuffed with raffia fibers and dry grass to filter the tobacco smoke.

M 276 531 Other than this primitive form, we collected a few pipes belonging to the same category, but with the calabash mouthpiece replaced by a wooden one, sometimes decorated with carved linear designs and with small copper strips inlaid in the wood.

M 276 ● 171 We found, then, two very characteristic pipe shapes in the Yaelima-Bankutsu region which seem to indicate a certain ethnic relationship among these different peoples. We do not know if these same shapes are found among the peoples of the Dekese region, but it seems quite probable to us. We found this same type along the north bank of the Sankuru between Lodi and Isaka, so the ethnic zone characterized by these two special forms of the native pipe, at least in the region south of Dekese, includes the whole area from Bumbuli to Bena Dibele-Kole. These types are also found outside this territory, notably to the north among the Bakuba and Bashilele. It must be noted, however, [159] that the pipe with a femur for the mouthpiece is extremely rare in the north, while that with a calabash mouthpiece is very seldom seen in the south. This seems to indicate that we have here a zone of contact where we once more find evidence of ethnic relationships between the peoples of this region and the tribes to the north and south. It may be inferred from this that the Bakuba and Bashilele tribes of the Kasai-Sankuru region are connected with the peoples between the Sankuru and the Lukenie and that they even have ethnic affinities with the peoples whose territory extends much farther north.

T 276 171 In the region of the Banfumu and Bateke, we find two types of tobacco pipes, one with a large bowl for communal smoking, the other smaller, with an earthenware bowl and a wooden tube and mouthpiece, used individually by both the women and the men. Along with these pipes, we also found several specimens

T 176 171

with the bowl and tube made of iron. These pipes are usually very long and cruder than the small clay pipes with wooden tubes. Moreover, it is probable that the latter were copied from imported models. We found them chiefly in villages near the large centers and the government posts. Their shape is strikingly similar to that of imported pipes.

M T 276 171

We found this same type among the Bayanzi of the right bank of the Kasai and north of Kwamouth. These natives are thus connected with the Bateke-Banfumungu group. Thus a new ethnic zone appears, and the territory we visited may be subdivided in this respect into three ethnic regions.

The first one includes all the territory occupied by the Bateke-Banfumungu, the Bayanzi, and part of the Baboma, and it is characterized:

1) by the use of a calabash pipe, a nkisi fetish, for smoking hemp;

2) by the use of pipes with large clay bowls, for smoking tobacco communally, and the small tobacco pipe, the property of the individual, used by both men and women. [160]

The second one extends from the mouth of the Fimi to the confines of Batitu territory.

The hemp pipe is not nkisi. The tobacco pipe, very primitive, is made from the rib of a banana leaf and very often has a wooden or clay bowl. The woman smokes neither tobacco nor hemp, and the custom of smoking the pipe communally is not much in favor.

The third zone is the one where we found the wooden tobacco pipe with a calabash mouthpiece or a neck of monkey bone. It includes the whole Yaelima-Bankutshu region, taking in the Bashilele and Bakuba and, very probably, the Dengese region.

N 276

As a rule, the natives like to smoke tobacco very much. They prefer doing it when the weather is cold, maintaining that it heightens the body heat.

B 44

Tobacco is not cultivated on a large scale. The crop is always strictly limited to the needs of the person who plants it. When the native wants to smoke tobacco, he plucks a leaf from the plant, dries it at the hearth, crushes it, and reduces it to powder. A pinch of this crudely ground tobacco is placed in the

on all the fingers of the hand. Those who can afford it even put them on their toes. Around the neck they wear fiber necklaces, from which they hang nkisi bags and horns. These amulet necklaces are associated with a religious idea, with magic power, rather than with ornamentation.

Children are usually overloaded with gaudy ornaments: white feathers stuck in the hair, necklaces and belts of glass beads, and small bells attached to the belt. In our opinion, however, these objects are not primarily intended to adorn the child, but to protect

Fig. 106. Natali, Banfumu Chief of Kapanda.

it. There is no doubt that the mother sticks the feathers in her child's hair and attaches small bells to his belt in order to find him more easily if he gets lost in the fields or in the bush. As soon as the child is old enough to find his own way and return to the village alone, bells and feathers are given up permanently. [185]

According to their ornaments, the peoples of the Stanley Pool-Kole region are divided into five groups.

The first one includes the Bateke-Banfumu-Baboma, among whom ornaments are relatively rare for the women as well as for the men. 301 171

The second one encompasses all the peoples in the region of Lake Leopold II and the lower Lukenie and is characterized by the solid brass necklace worn by the women and the ornaments trimmed with cowries and the brass plaques worn by the dignitaries and chiefs.

The third one includes the Ipanga and the Batitu, with the

142 516 855

Fig. 107. A Group of Batitu Children.

belt ornamented with brass beads, rings on the fingers and toes, and solid brass rings worn above the ankles, all of which are peculiar to the women.

The fourth group is characterized by the sheath of brass rings covering the arm from wrist to elbow and worn as much by the men as by the women of the Bokala-Yaelima.

The fifth group includes the Bena Dibele-Kole region, where imported ornaments have replaced the primitive ones. [186]

In addition to all these adornments used regularly in common, everyday life, the native also has ornaments reserved for show and ceremony. 304

1: Maes--149 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32
Sakata F043
Teke F133
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We have seen earlier that among the Bateke, Banfumungu, and Baboma, the man's characteristic tattoo consists of lines scratched on the face, while that of the woman consists of small dots in relief, juxtaposed in pafallel lines, more or less horizontal, covering the body from the pit of the stomach to the lower abdomen. This same design [192] is found among the women of all the riparian peoples of Lake Leopold II and among the tribes of the Lukenie up to the Bumbuli sector. It must be noted, however, that in this last region the relief is less clear and less pronounced.

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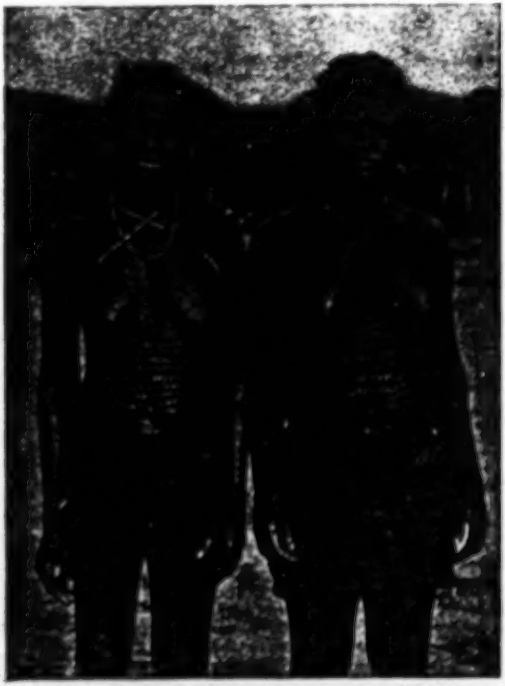

Fig. 116. Tattooing among the Women of Lake Leopold II and the Lower Lukenie.

Moreover, as a general rule, the relief gradually decreases as one goes farther from the lake. In this respect, then, all these peoples seem to belong to the same ethnic group, and it is probable that this characteristic tattooing is one of the traits of the ancestral civilization, retained until the present time by all

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304 the branches of the original group despite migrations and dis-
●171 placements. In the same region, the tattoo of the man is a small rosette, consisting of a large central dot and two or three concentric circles in relief, decorating the temples. In the region north of Lake Leopold II, the native usually adds to this a line of small dots all across the forehead.

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304 Among the Tumba, Mosengere, Wadia, and Basakata-Bobaie-Balesa, on the other hand, this line is replaced by a series of small incisions in relief which form a little cock's crest in the hollow at the root of the nose.

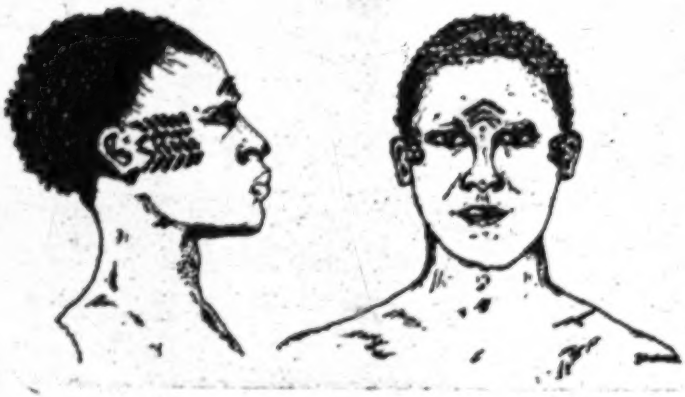

Fig. 117. Batitu-Ipanga Tattoos.

Among all these tribes the woman has also adopted the racial tattoo, although it must be noted that we quite often met women with no tattooing on their faces, while others had the rosette alone, the rosette [193] and the cock's crest, or the line crossing the forehead, and sometimes the three tattoos were combined.

This irregularity in the application of facial tattoos leads us to suppose that this tattooing is more a matter of vanity for the women of these various tribes than a practice imposed by the usages and customs, while for the men this artificial deformation is a true distinguishing mark imposed by local tradition.

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304 Among the Ipanga and Batitu, tattoos include designs on the face and on the breastbone. The chest tattoo consists of a vertical line of small linear scars, obliquely parallel and slightly

1: Maes--156 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32
Dengese FO16

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304 Tattoos on the chest and the upper and lower abdomen are less uniformly worn by the women of this region, but where they do exist the design is always outstandingly symmetrical. It is formed by small juxtaposed dots in strong relief.

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304 To sum up, we believe that we may divide the racial tattoos of the various populations we visited into four groups.

●171 The first consists of the tattoo of the Bateke-Banfumungu-Baboma, made with a comb.

The second is characterized by the rosette on the temples and the semi-concentric crest at the root of the nose, and this includes all the riparian peoples of Lake Leopold II and the Lukenie, with the exception of the Ipanga-Batitu.

The third group is distinguished by the semi-concentric crest at the root of the nose and the palm-leaf designs at the temples, which we observed among the Ipanga-Batitu and up to the Bokala region.

Lastly, the fourth group is marked by the small, raised dots with which the woman of the Bena Dibele-Kole region adorns her neck and forehead, as well as by the characteristic figure on the upper arm.

We have noted earlier that, thanks to photographs by Mr. Van den Broech, we were able to verify the fact that the peoples of the Dekese sector are related particularly to their western neighbors as far as tattooing is concerned, although they [199] show strong resemblances to the eastern tribes. Their territory, therefore, should be regarded as a mixed zone or an area of transition between the two ethnic groups.

The study of the different figures of ornamental tattooing permits us to subdivide the region we visited into two large provinves.

The first one includes all the peoples who have few ornamental tattoos, and these few are not very elaborate. In this case, there are no true figures involved, for the tattoos invariably consist of small dots aligned horizontally.

This region extends from Leopoldville to Oshwe.

The second one includes the tribes with highly elaborate ornamental tattoos. This province covers the rest of the region we visited, and its major center is the Yaelima region. The study

1: Maes--157 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32
Yaelima

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171 we made of the many figures we saw in this region showed us that the variations are so numerous, so diverse, and so closely intertwined that it is totally impossible to use this as a basis for determining ethnic sectors with clearly-defined characteristics.

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833 Finally, if we consider only those tattoo figures to which

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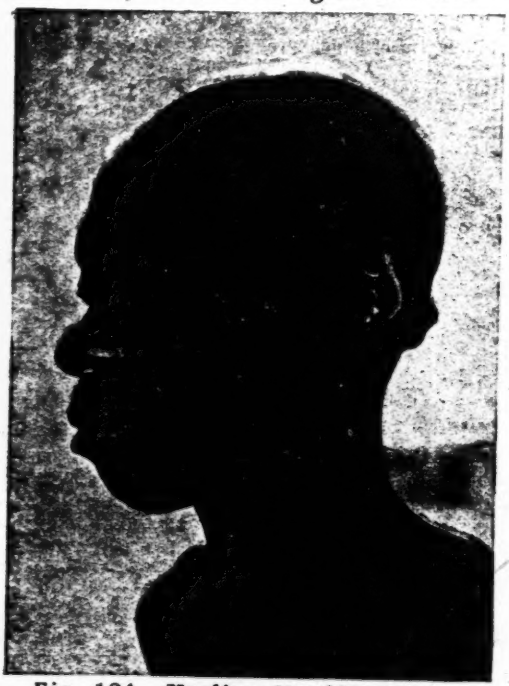

Fig. 124. Yaelima Headdress and Tattooing. Typical Longomo or Dignitary.

we attributed, if not a familial origin, at least a familial nature [200] (incitement to sexual relations), we see that throughout the region this type of tattoo is peculiar to women.

From Leopoldville to the confines of Batitu territory and even among some Bokala women, this tattoo consists (where it still exists) of a number of small, aligned dots, just like the ornamental tattoos.

Among the Ipanga-Batitu, these figures sometimes embellish the arms and part of the back, while among the other tribes they are less elaborate.

304 In the region of the Yaelima, Dengese, and some of the
171 Bokala, this tattoo consists of a series of broken, concentric lines
833 with the pubic region as the main center.

We do not know if this tattoo is also worn by the Basongo-Meno and Bankutshu women, but this seems probable to us. We can, however, assert that among those peoples this tattoo does not extend to the upper thighs, except for one or two lines of small incised dots running parallel to the fold of the groin.

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[307]

Fig. 125. Yaelima Tattoing and Headdress Adorned with Peanuts Smeared with Ngula.

The incisions for ornamental and sexual tattoos are usually made by women, although a man sometimes takes over this task.

304 The operation is carried out at very irregular intervals and at practically any [201] time of life. Moreover, it requires several sittings, usually spaced from 10 to 15 days apart.

The tattooing knife, which is also used for depilation, consists of a small, broad iron blade with a curved, very sharp cutting edge.

585 896 To say that it makes absolutely no difference to him might be too extreme a statement. But it is certainly not very important to him, since the primary purpose of his marriage is to obtain progeny and to follow his natural instinct in an honest fashion. This does not mean that he likes to marry a woman of loose morals; quite the contrary.

171 585 836 What is the linguistic data on the subject of virginity? In an interesting paper entitled "The Principles of Bantu Marriage" (Africa Vol. 2, No. 3 (1929), p. 255), E. Torday says, "Some of the most competent philologists assure us that in most Bantu languages there is no word for 'virgin'; . . . . The Wachagga, who may be an exception, use the word 'unimpaired,' and it is perhaps in the use of similar expressions, not exclusively applied to physical virginity, that we shall find the explanation of the absence of a specific term."

585 836 192 Thus the Lonkundó have a noun: ekátɛ́. It is derived from the root kát (the verb is -kátema), which means "to be firmly attached, to be tenacious" (e.g., lokátɛ́, "tenacity"). Ekátɛ́ designates something which is difficult to open, to separate, to break up, especially fruit with a tough, hard, thick rind. It is applied to the litɔ́fɛ́, lisɛ́njá, and the lindongɔ́ when it is impossible to break the shell which contains the edible portion even though the fruit is ripe. [79] This term is used in a figurative sense for a woman who resists seduction, who "does not allow herself to be opened." It is not at all specific and in no way the equivalent of our word "virginity," rather it seems to signify "chastity."

Other Nkundó tribes seem to have a specific word, bokotɔ́. I learned this term from natives living between the Ikelemba and the Tshuapa, both east and west of the Julɛ́, as well as from some Basɛ́ká Bongwalanga from the old Lulonga District. The missionaries of the Apostolic Prefecture of Basankusu use it in their publications to mean "virginity, virgin." I was not able to get an exact idea of its precise meaning, but as far as I was able to make out it is much closer to "virgin chastity" than ekátɛ́. In any case it includes no reference to physical virginity. (1)

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1. We should not be astonished that "primitive" tribes have no word in their language

595x 554 The name bolúmbú seems to come from the fact that for an instant during the installation ceremony the woman is naked. In fact in certain dialects the word means "nudity."

[551] Nowadays this name is common among Nkundó women (rarely men), but it does not indicate that they are bolúmbú. The name is borne in memory of ancestresses or relatives who had that position and is transmitted in the family like any other name.

[114] All the tribes under discussion here use the same term, bolúmbú. The Bombomba alone say bosílé. (2)

2. Elsewhere, as in the Losanganya region, among the Bosaka, etc., the bolúmbú is called ekila (interdiction, taboo).

It is clear from everything that has been said that the nkóndé and the bolúmbú have nothing in common with each other. [353] The two institutions are decidedly different. Nowadays they are beginning to be confused with each other, however. [178] For the installation of a bolúmbú has become extremely rare, and in some regions it has already disappeared. The colonial government has established districts and appointed chiefs in charge of them. Very frequently, they are not those who in the purely indigenous order would have been the most influential men, the masters, those who would have the biggest say in their society, who would be said to have the joko, the first place.

As far as I have been able to observe, the other tribes on the equator also have the two types of wives with special positions, who bear names which vary with the dialects.

● 171 595x 554 Do the Ntómbá and the Bolénge between the Boloko and the Congo have only the bolúmbú? That is the conclusion one draws from Engels' study of the Wangata (Revue congolaise, Vol. 2, no. 1, p. 33). If that were so, the frequent contacts with this people may have increased the confusion even more. Natives who are strangers to the Bolénge tribe but who have lived many years among them as catechists, have maintained, however, that

171 they distinguish very clearly between the bolúmbú and the favorite. They even added that the nkúmú enjoy no privileges in this realm. (1)

1. The institution of the nkúmú is not very widespread among the tribes treated in our study. (See "Les Coutumes funéraires des Nkundó [Funeral customs of the Nkundo]," in Anthropos) (in press).

In the course of a visit I myself made to the western Bolénge (in September, 1933), I learned that a man who had a special position could have two belúmbú; the bomátsa proposed her ebísa as candidate, and the second wife did the same for hers. Thus there was a bolúmbú w'ílóme and a bolúmbú w'íali (the latter more especially called ekila. I also observed that they made a very clear distinction between bolúmbú and [354] nkónde, just like the peoples treated in this study.

As to the function of messenger, which is attributed to the bolúmbú by Engels (as well as by Father Kaptein, in Congo, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 532), it is not performed more by her than by any other woman in the harem. Any of them, without distinction based on rank or date of marriage, may be charged with a mission. The only custom of this sort which involves such a distinction is found among the Bolénge-Ntómbá living between the Congo and the Boloko. It is as follows: an influential [128] man sometimes sent his belúmbú (one or two) to stop a quarrel, or even a battle between two villages. When she intervened, the opposing parties made a truce, pending the arrival and the decision of her husband in person.

Article IV. The Ebísa

An ebísa is a woman taken as wife by the husband of one of her relatives -- a sister, aunt, or older cousin. The relative

765 Incontinence is severely punished by the deceased; she molests the culprit and even drags him or another person who is in mourning to the grave.

[352] The severity of the seclusion is lessened at the time of the ceremony which marks the widower's return to a small bed raised ● [171] above the ground. It is made from tree trunks or branches in the manner of the Batswá. The widower is washed by the deceased's elder sister and then is led to the bed by his elder brother's wife. He receives a knife from his father, and from then on is permitted to perform his usual tasks.

A widower (or widow) must purchase gradual dispensations from prohibitions of foods, in contrast to relatives, who are simply released (Coutumes funéraires [Funeral Customs], Vol. 2, no. 2, E). This distinction shows the fundamental difference that exists between mourning for a spouse and for a relative. In the first instance, it is a strict social obligation from which he can be absolved only by a purchase, a compensation, or commutation of sorts; in the second instance, it is a convention from which a person is freed without any ceremony or compensation. The fact that this regulation is extended to the close relatives of the widower (or widow) does not lessen the validity of this conclusion. On the contrary, it corroborates it. For [421] the persons to whom the rule applies remain clearly in the affinal line; the regulation is never extended to relatives of the deceased.

After the death of a husband, his widows and the wives of his close relatives buy dispensations from the deceased's kinswomen. After a wife's death, the husband and his close relatives buy them from their own wives. The total amount of the purchase made by all the persons involved must be divided. Half goes to the women who have married into the clan; the other half is kept for the family of the deceased.

Like all periods of mourning, that of the widower -- with all the regulations and prohibitions involved -- ends in a great feast. When the family of the deceased have performed their duties, they organize a second feast at their own home, and the widower is